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The Organ of the National Council of Labour Colleges

THE PLEBS

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October, 1925

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OUR POINT OF VIEW

THIS month we begin a new chapter in the history of the I.W.C.E. movement. The T.U.C. Scheme has been endorsed by Congress ; and it is now our task to "deliver the goods." On another page the General Secretary of the N.C.L.C. discusses the Scheme so far as certain of its immediate bearings on our work are concerned.

We want to emphasise here a more general point, but one which appears to us to be fundamental. The Scarborough Congress registered a definite turn to the Left in working-class policy. This means—or should mean—much more than a victory for a particular group of individuals as against some other group. It means a marked advance in working-class consciousness, and in working-class determination to fight its own class-battles. *It has got to be made to mean these things.* For the carrying of resolutions at a Congress is of little or no value unless the far more difficult task of getting the spirit of those resolutions expressed in the day-to-day activities of the movement is tackled, and tackled with a will.

Now from this point of view, it seems to us, our duty—as Left Wingers and as I.W.C.Ers.—is clear. It is to propagate the *principles* of Independent Working-class Education more vigorously, and relate those principles to the *immediate problems* confronting the workers more unflinchingly, than ever before. We are Left Wingers precisely because we are I.W.C.Ers. That is to say, we take our stand—whether as educationists or as Trades Unionists and Labour men and women—on the fact of the class-struggle, and on the urgent need to wage that struggle wholeheartedly and single-mindedly. The fundamental difference between us and the W.E.A.—the difference which, now that the T.U.C. Scheme comes into operation, we have to stress more insistently than ever—is just this : that to us education is a weapon in the class-struggle, *and no more than that.* And the whole I.W.C.E. movement, therefore—"official" N.C.L.C.ers and "unofficial" Plebs alike—ought to concentrate during the next few critical months on the supreme task of building up in the minds of the workers the knowledge and the confidence necessary for working-class victory.

As the Principal of the London Labour College put it in the last issue of the *Labour Monthly* :—"It is in its application to current industrial and economic conditions that I.W.C.E. will and must

be tested. If it does not analyse these, and, to a certain extent, forecast the trend and supply the necessary strategy for the class-struggle, then it is woefully lacking somewhere."

We are belying the very principles of our educational movement if we regard ourselves, as educationists, as in any way divorced from the current needs and current problems of the workers' movement as a whole. Some degree of specialisation, of special concentration, on our own educational problems is admittedly necessary ; but to the extent that this specialisation implies aloofness, separation, from the day-to-day activities of our fellow Trades Unionists and Labour comrades, we are writing ourselves down as failures. The subjects we study in our classes are means to an end ; and that end is the creation and development of a *militant, informed working-class consciousness.*

This coming winter will be a testing-time for British Labour. It will also be a testing-time for our own I.W.C.E. movement. Let us make up our minds now to put all our energies into the struggle ahead. And let us resolve to estimate our success, not in terms of so many hundreds of classes or thousands of students, but by the extent to which we prove to our fellow-workers generally that Independent Working-Class Education is an indispensable weapon in the fight they are waging.

H. N. Brailsford, in the *New Leader* recently, made an appeal for more outspokenness on the part of all keen workers in the Labour movement. "There is," he wrote, "too much murmuring in private, and too little frankness on the platform and on paper." The contents of *The PLEBS* this month will not, we think, be open to criticism from this particular point of view. Our contributors have lived up to our ancient motto, "I can promise to be candid but not impartial." J. L. Gray's article on the I.L.P. will doubtless grieve many good comrades ; but the things he says need to be said. The same is true of R. W. Postgate's study of the *Daily Herald*. Official-minded C.P.ers will object to Max Eastman's article ; but here again we are quite sure that full and frank discussion is far better for the movement than any policy of silence or suppression. The preliminary to any sort of united action on the part of the Left Wing is not a forced agreement to a programme laid down by some one section ; but open discussion of all differences. As I.W.C.E.ers we can do a great deal towards making such discussion practicable—and profitable.

J. F. H.

PLEBS QUERIES

I.—Has the I.L.P. a Future ?

The PLEBS badge is a question-mark. We propose in this series of articles—by different hands—to ask certain pertinent questions about the Labour Movement and the problems confronting it.

A VISIT to its Summer School at Easton Lodge has filled me with almost complete despair of the I.L.P. I don't think I saw only the bad side of the picture. The students and lecturers were fairly representative of the Party in the country, if not of the working-class movement as a whole, and the comradeship of the gathering biased me considerably in favour of a generous attitude towards the differences revealed in the discussions. Moreover, the impression I got was not new. But a fortnight's contact with these I.L.P.ers leaves me seriously doubting whether many could be described as socialists at all. I began to feel much more strongly than ever before that it is the acceptance of the class-struggle *as a fight to be waged* in season and out of season that really separates socialists from liberals. In that, the only real sense of the term socialist, there were precious few I.L.P.ers who would not have been better in the left-wing of the Liberal Party.

What is most urgently wanted is a clear-cut declaration of principle which will separate the sheep from the goats. Our socialism must be passionate, a religious faith—but it must also be rooted in intellectual conviction and guided by principles of action. Instinct and passion make most of the rank-and-file members of the I.L.P. sound at heart in moments of crisis. They do feel that the workers are exploited and that their exploiters should be fought hard all the time. But that is not enough. At present they have got to be *forced* to show the stuff they are made of by having crises shoved upon them unawares. In the interval they act as if class-interest were a wicked and horrible thing, not often to be pricked into life. They are half-ashamed of their occasional militancy and class loyalty.

The poison of a false theory of society, propagated by the I.L.P. from the beginning, is blunting the sense of class interest amongst many intelligent members of the working-class movement. They are afraid of "hurting the community." MacDonald's thirty-year-old belief that society is an organism, that each part can only prosper if the others co-operate in the process, is the most reactionary doctrine in politics, and in practice simply provides some theoretical pretence which excuses the actions of crooked politicians. We can well understand how this doctrine appeals to the educated middle-class

persons who are flocking into the I.L.P. But the tragedy lies in the fact that the falsehood has got its grip on the great mass of the thinking rank-and-file, on those whose impulse is to do things intelligently and deliberately and with some well-planned end in view. I firmly believe that this attitude of a large section of the workers is not a comfortable compromise born of bourgeois ideals and vested interests, but is an article of faith, due to the traditional authority of the I.L.P. amongst the "politically-minded" trade unionists.

The I.L.P. is a perfect instrument for turning class-conscious trade unionists into futile and faint-hearted politicians. Once inside, their faith in the justice of the working-class cause is weakened by doubts as to what their practical policy should be as "good citizens" of a "democratic community." There is no doubt that the ordinary worker could be made a class-conscious socialist much more easily were it not for the I.L.P. That Party in its early career did accomplish some good in making the trade unions see that their problem was bigger than sectional struggles for more wages, and it is doing some good in addressing itself to the constructive work of planning a rational and workable socialist commonwealth. But that work is entirely vitiated by its lost power to enlist the passionate energy of the ordinary worker, and its complete failure to forecast the immediate industrial future and to guide the movement in its day-to-day struggle.

For the problems of to-day are radically different from those of the nineties. Parliamentary action extending uninterruptedly over a generation of smooth transition to a socialist society is now seen to be a complete delusion, and especially since the Labour Government's treacherous and incompetent career. To-day it is the organised trade unionists, and, what is more significant, *the executives and the General Council*, which are more militant and alert and far-seeing. For the next nine months (to look no further ahead) it is upon the industrial organisation that the honour and the responsibility of genuinely political action rests.

Has the I.L.P., therefore, no future? Remember its problem is not the same as that of the Labour Party, which will respond much more quickly to the demands of the trade unions which control it. The I.L.P. is a propagandist body composed of individuals, and largely inspired by middle-class reformists. Before discussing its future, it may be well to examine the present composition of the I.L.P.

(1) There are the right-wing opportunist politicians, who are no better than they should be, most of them merely stupid Liberal reformers, some of them—well, let us say "professional politicians," and leave it at that. The bulk of the worst reactionaries in the Labour Government were popular leaders of the I.L.P.

(2) The Party bosses who control the machine, hangers-on of the parliamentary representatives, who have always found money and support for what the influential people want, but have only "pie in the sky" for the rank-and-file.

(3) The pacifists, who are firstly Christians and only secondly socialists. Let them be! But their place is not in a militant working-class movement, soon to be engaged in a life-and-death struggle with an unscrupulous capitalist class and its Fascist gun-men. Ernest Thurtle at the I.L.P. Summer School declared that the Red Army had never done anything to preserve the Workers' Republic and ought to be abolished forthwith! Further, he would not lift a finger to suppress a possible armed revolt on the part of white capitalist exploiters in British tropical Africa, who refused to accept reforms imposed by a Labour Government for the benefit of the native inhabitants. Moreover he advised every socialist to be a conscientious objector in the next imperialist war, *and nothing more!* Whereas clearly his first duty should be the preparation of an organised proletarian revolt to save civilisation from the peril of complete annihilation.

(4) The sentimentalists, mostly middle-aged and middle-class persons, who talk all day about Keir Hardie and Bruce Glasier. Admirable pioneers, no doubt, although it is surely obvious that we have got to face new problems in a new way. Curiously enough, these people are all parliamentarians and democrats, occupying themselves, like Fred Jowett, with nice parlour games about the reform of House of Commons procedure. (Oh! that unholy trinity of Democrats, Theosophists and Vegetarians!)

(5) Finally, there are the left-wingers, who alone make the I.L.P. worth bothering about. They exist in large numbers, and are to be found even in high places, but have little contact with each other. It is desperately important that these men and women should get together and co-operate with the general left-wing movement. The Scottish group (though by no means so homogeneous as is often supposed) is alone worth a tremendous effort to save from its sentimental loyalty to Party tradition and its uncritical acceptance of parliamentary methods. The whole left-wing block, Scottish and English alike, is practical-minded, agile and elastic. What is needed is that they should clarify their principles and act uniformly and intelligently as conscious protagonists in the class-struggle.

With such a heterogeneous crowd, few generalisations are possible. Can such a body be transformed quickly to meet the new problems that confront us with any hope of overcoming them? I doubt it. The task before it is firstly, to change the leadership of the Labour

Another weapon in the war of ideas (see p. 392).

movement, and secondly, to seek close contact with the trade union movement. Both of these depend upon a new class outlook amongst the rank-and-file, which it is one of the functions of the N.C.L.C. and the Plebs League to create. The revolt against MacDonald's leadership is widespread in the I.L.P., while the recent mining crisis and the complete effacement of the parliamentary party has set many furiously to think. Even more important is the prospect of a general strike in a few months' time, if the Coal Commission proves to be a weapon to sidetrack the issue of nationalisation. Where would Parliament be in the event of cabinet dictatorship and Fascist violence? What on earth could the I.L.P. do? Could it do anything useful as a body, apart from its rank-and-file's part in fighting in the trade union movement? To-day the I.L.P. as such is completely out of touch with the trade unions. Will our propaganda be in time to transform the I.L.P., or indeed is it profitable to try and do anything with it at all except hasten its disbandment? These are the problems which we have got to face anxiously in the immediate future.

George Lansbury's solution is a simple and at first sight an attractive one. He came down to the Summer School and told it that the I.L.P. ought to go out of business as a political party and become a purely propagandist body, leaving elections to be fought by a unified Labour Party. I have great sympathy with Lansbury's point of view, and his instinct is almost always right. But there are three grave objections to his proposal. (1) The rank-and-file of the movement would be bewildered by this sudden and apparently only formal change, which would give them nothing else to do and would not provide for any change in the *character* of their propaganda. (2) The vested interests of the party machine would squeal and make mischief; and (3) the change would divorce the I.L.P. from concrete activity as a body at election times, and make it a mere asylum for cranks and crooks.

Frankly, I don't think we can get the I.L.P. to commit suicide voluntarily. Some sort of split is necessary, and the sooner the better, so that the dust of it can settle before we are called upon to make great decisions. Our aim should be the creation of a new left-wing spirit, centering round an organisation including as many I.L.P.ers as are worth having, and made an organic part of the virile trade union movement. If we can withdraw the better elements, the I.L.P. will become a mere collection of right-wing, middle-class politicians, and would not survive a day. So whatever was best in the I.L.P. could be transferred to a new body born to meet new needs; and nobody need despair, for institutions atrophy and decay, and fresh ones inherit their spirit.

If what I have said in conclusion seems lame and impotent, it is for those of us who *believe* in the class-struggle to give to it body and

reality. Let us be the nucleus of a united left-wing opinion which will strive to get rid of the false distinction between industrial and political methods, and whose slogan will be, "all *Power* to the workers." Some such coherent and vigorous faith is urgently necessary if the soul of the socialist movement is to be saved, and treachery to the working-class made to appear a disgrace of the past and not a horrible dread for the future.

J. L. GRAY.

LABOUR'S PRESS

I.—Daily

This article is the first of a series which I have promised to do, and which will be continued at intervals as time permits. Of course, any criticisms passed in the process of this investigation are not to be taken as suggesting that it is not every worker's duty to support the "Daily Herald" as the only Labour daily.—R. W. P.

I HAVE had, for other purposes than these articles, to go through every copy of the *Daily* and weekly *Herald* recently, and in the process I have made some interesting discoveries. As a result, I have made a fairly full subject index, and I propose to make use of this now, in considering the policy and present position of the *Daily Herald*. Very considerable changes may be made imperceptibly, and it is only in looking back over a period that it is possible to realise their extent and character. So it is here.

First, a brief reminder of facts. The independent *Daily Herald*, owing largely to the effects of Black Friday, fell into great difficulties in 1922. It was first "guaranteed" for six months by the General Council and the Executive of the Labour Party; then taken over. Mr. Hamilton Fyfe, a journalist who had previously occupied several journalistic posts, mainly in the Northcliffe Press, took charge as the nominee of Eccleston Square. Rapid, and rapidly changing, alterations were made in the policy and appearance of the paper. However, let the paper speak for itself. I give now an analysis of the most important "leaders" after Mr. Fyfe took over (11-9-22). Italics, etc., are reproduced as in the original: extracts are from leaders unless otherwise stated. The extracts are not made from any particular angle, but all are selected which seem to indicate what the new policy is.

The extracts begin at the time, of course, of the narrowly averted war with Turkey, Chanak, the Mudania Conference, and Mr. Lloyd George's fall:—

6/10/22.—Mudania Conference. A leader, "Back General Harrington," and not Lloyd George. An armistice "is a purely military business for generals to put through."

18/10/22.—Lord Robert Cecil's "influence for good has been vastly impaired" by the report that he has advocated the League of Nations having air-bombers of its own. A leader on the election: "To call them Conservatives is a misuse of words. If your house is falling about your ears you do not conserve it by sitting still. . . . *It will cost money and more than money to let the house fall.*"

23/10/22.—"It is notorious that Austrian rule was mild."

31/10/22.—Mr. Fyfe signs an article on Mussolini's coup. "Impossible not to feel a certain amount of admiration for him. . . ." The Fascists, if they abandoned violence "might set the feet of the Italian people on the way we are all seeking."

9/11/22.—There is no mention of the Russian revolution anniversary this year. But there is a leader on silk stockings, which asks, "Are they naughty?"

11/11/22.—A leader on "Thoughts for Armistice Day." A thought recommended is that "people whose fortunes are moderate—say between five and twenty thousand—they would get off lightly" under a capital levy.

20/11/22.—A leader, "The Fetish of Class" rebukes the Tories. "This stupid effort to divide a nation into two sections."

With the coming of November came also the opening of the Lausanne Conference and the meeting between Curzon and Mussolini. There was civil war in Ireland; and on the 23rd the Unemployed Marchers were reaching London. We have on that date:—

23/11/22.—A leader of protest because a boy has been fined 10s. for crying "Beaver."

27/11/22.—A leader upon how funny it is that a barber has arranged for wireless concerts for his clients to listen in to; soon they will want to dictate letters and eat and drink while being shaved.

29/11/22.—News of the Greek ex-ministers being executed for carrying on unauthorised war. Leader, "An act of unreflecting brutality that will do Greece incalculable harm." Four days earlier, on the occasion of the execution of Erskine Childers, a leader dealing with the nutritive character of tea.

1/12/22.—A leader on the London General Omnibus Company attempting to strangle new competitors ("pirate buses"). "In many ways the Company has served London well. Its management is enterprising, its vehicles swift and comfortable, its fares are on the whole moderate. . . . Our watchword: No monopolies in private hands."

5/12/22.—The Irish Free State Bill becomes law. The leader says: "This is a great day in history. For the first time in eight centuries Irish men and women can wake up this morning and say to themselves: 'Ours is a free country.'"

The change of policy at this time was also noticeable in the news columns. During this December the "splashes" (*i.e.*, the streamer and double- or three-column titles on the front page) are devoted to the Ilford Murder. On 9-12-22 for example, the shooting of Rory O'Connor and other Irish Republican leaders is given a small story down-column: the Ilford report is given four-and-a-half columns.

At this time it is announced that the *Daily Herald* is in "a critical position" owing to the lack of support from readers. We proceed :

22/12/22.—A leader on "Exciting and delightful Christmas," called "The best is here." "For the children the joy of presents, of the stocking in the morning and at night the lighted tree, for us the joy of giving—of filling their little simple hearts with happiness. Christmas is the festival of children, love and home." There is no reference to the unemployed.

1/1/23.—A leader on the fact that English couples have won in an international dancing contest. "From foxhunter John Bull has turned fox-trotter, and the sound of the horn that brings him from his bed emanates from a jazz band."

3/1/23.—A leader on the French demand to seize the Ruhr: "Dismember Germany like Richelieu. . . . Fear rather than a crude lust for territory." Iron, steel and coal are not mentioned.

4/1/23.—A leader on the fascination of precious stones. Why does not an author call his book the "Great Trousers Mystery" instead of the "Great Jewel Mystery" ?

On January 12th, 1923, the news of the French entry into the Ruhr is given. "Let the League act now . . . or be for ever regarded as a sham," said the leader. The League did not act, but the League has not been treated as "a sham" in the *Daily Herald* since. Next day was announced the master builders' big offensive against the operatives' wages and hours—especially the latter. The leaders were (1) a rebuke to the *Times* for approving of the Fascists; (2) on the Magnetism of the Human Eye—"humorous." On the 18th we note a leader on the marriage of the Duke of York: it complains of "overdoing it"—love is "sacred," the Press agent should keep out. At this time we find there is always a front page "splash" with a streamer-head and three-column heads below, regardless of the character or importance of the news. Later, this policy is reversed: e.g., on the occasion of the presenting of the first Labour Budget by Mr. Snowden, there was no streamer. On January 23rd it is announced that "once more" the *Daily Herald* is faced with a crisis. When Parliament meets we notice that the length of Parliamentary reports, compared with the rest of the paper, is enormously increased, non-Labour speeches, except by Ministers, being omitted almost wholly.

1/2/23.—Leader asking "Why is it fashionable to like old furniture?"

9/2/23.—You are asked to display a poster, "The new *Daily Herald*, the busy man's newspaper."

15/2/23.—A leader on MacDonald's speech upon housing. The middle class has been betrayed by the two great capitalist parties.

19/2/23.—A leader on the benefits of leisure. Why not a Ministry of Leisure like the Ministry of Labour?

19/3/23.—Leaders on Protection, and on Beauty, apropos of a man having pinched a Gainsborough. A streamer and three-column splash on a speech by J. H. Thomas on housing.

20/3/23.—Closing words of a leader: The opponents of change "have no understanding whatever of the revolution that has already taken place in the minds of the spiritual and intellectual leaders of the People, and is now rapidly winning adherents among all classes—even among the capitalists themselves."

Considerations of space mean that I can henceforward only give the more important items. If I had room, I would reprint in full the leaders of 3-4-23, dealing with the "Watchful Eye" and the Internationals, as they are most typical and important as indications of the new policy. Readers who possess a copy, or have access to one, should read them carefully and extract their peculiar savour.

6/4/23.—A leader, "Give Trade a Chance to Revive." It attacks the employers for threatening war when "Labour has done its best to use reason."

24/4/23.—A streamer and splash advising workers to break the sugar ring, by using less sugar.

23/5/23.—Baldwin becomes Premier. A special article. "In his native county he has always been highly popular. A quiet man of simple habits, inseparable from his pipe, he loves pottering about the lovely Severn-side country. . . . He is keen on his garden and his pigs. . . . It is clear that in Mr. Baldwin we have a new type of Prime Minister, perhaps a new kind of statesman—simply the ordinary man with the knowledge of a man of the world, wide sympathies and generous ideals. The country will like him." There is also a description of his "strong sense of social responsibility Disraeli." The leader says: "It is to his credit that he should so quickly have gained a reputation for soundness of judgment and what is better still, for kindness, for honesty and for a real desire to secure both better conditions at home and peaceful, friendly relations abroad. . . . He is a plain business man. . . . We cannot help feeling sympathetic towards Lord Curzon, disappointed of his great ambition and of a prize which by long service he seemed entitled to claim."

The second leader deals with the need for reunion of the Internationals.

9/6/23.—The "Order of Industrial Heroism" started.

7/7/23.—The unofficial dock strike. The leader compares the strikers to scabs, alleging that they are saying, "To hell with the Co-operative Commonwealth that is so nearly within our reach." The title is "Selling the Pass."

27/7/23.—The dock strike is still on; but the main leader is nevertheless on the Port of London Authority, which is held up as an example of Socialism.

Next month a fresh crisis is announced and it rapidly becomes clear that this is far more serious than any that had preceded it. At the end of August it was decided to close down the paper and a recommendation to that effect was put down for the Trades Union Congress (24-8-23). The staff, however, went directly to the Congress and persuaded it to rescind this decision, and make instead drastic economies in the size and features of the paper (8-9-23). The pages of the *Daily Herald* became fewer and less interesting: still certain items may be noted. On October 24, for example, on the occasion of the Red revolt in Hamburg, the Berlin invasion of the Saxon Socialist Republic, the French recognition of an independent Rhine Republic and the Bavarian breakaway from Berlin, the two leaders dealt (1) with the false premises of a speech by a Geddes on economy; (2) with promising bye-elections. On the 31st, on the death of Bonar Law, a biographical notice is inserted, in which the Tory statesman is highly praised. There is no criticism of his policy, but we are told he was a "rare personality." Great space is given

now to Parliament : on November 16, for example, 10 columns are occupied by it, though one of the total of 8 pages is wholly occupied by an advertisement. With the election, which ultimately led to the Labour Government, the year closes. We note (27-11-23) that "Your Food Will Cost you More" is recommended as an election slogan ; but almost immediately after (30-11-23) the paper's front pages are devoted to fierce attacks on the Liberal leaders.

Reasons of space, as well as the complications introduced by the behaviour of the Labour Cabinet, force me to stop my extracts here at the beginning of 1924 and to consider what results from the examination of the evidence.

And what results, in the first place, is merely perplexity. I can imagine an observer saying, "When the *Herald* was taken over, I was prepared for a big change in policy. The Right wing was in control, and I was prepared for a Right wing policy. The strictest constitutionalism, Liberal ideas, appeals to employers and the ruling class, attacks on Communism—if I had seen this, I would not have been surprised. But far from it. There is nothing but incoherence. Constitutionalism is praised, Mussolini is also praised, and the *Times* abused for praising him. The League of Nations is damned and then revived. At one time strikers are called scabs, at another union with the Communist International is advocated. A Liberal election slogan is adopted, and Liberal leaders flayed for their Liberalism. More than that, the paper is diverted, like a child by an insect, at the most serious moment to discuss matters like 'Are silk stockings naughty?' or the sinfulness of crying 'Beaver.' This is not a policy, Right or Left, it is paranoia-madness."

Such a verdict would be most unfair. This is not paranoia, to carry on the medical metaphor : it is *simulated paranoia*. The policy behind it is, in other words, the *imitation* of what is practically idiocy—viz., the ordinary practice of the capitalist Press. If you take a file of the *Daily Express*, for example, and turn it over you will find the *beau ideal* of the present *Herald* policy—the same utter inconsequence in policy, the frivolity in leaders, the sensational "splashes" without regard to the value of the news—generally, what is called the "vulgarity and pernicious character of the Yellow Press." The argument which leads a Socialist daily to imitate them is this : "The *Daily Express* and other papers are read by many workers ; their features are of such and such a character ; *therefore*, in order to be read by many workers, we must imitate these features." Such an argument would at once be advanced by a professional journalist with little Labour experience.

That it has grave flaws was shown by the series of grave crises,

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instead of great prosperity, which followed. There are in fact, two serious objections to this policy of imitating capitalist journalism ("the best Fleet Street models.") And the first one is just £ s. d. The "bright features" and stunts which enliven the *Express's* columns have to be paid for, and paid for very highly. The journalists who write them are in the Labour market, and these features are commodities to be bought and sold. As in America, the journal with the longest purse wins, and gets the best features. No Labour journal will ever have, this side of Socialism, the money resources to engage in competition with capitalist papers on this ground. It will have to live off the second rate stuff they leave.

Secondly, anyone who supports this policy has forgotten the object of Labour journalism. What is the aim of these "bright features" in the capitalist dailies? We all know; it is to divert attention and soothe discontent. The latest questionable play, "naughty" dress for women, two-headed cows, the nutritive character of tea—every day something different, something amusing and something unimportant. Something, that is, that covers up something else. But the object of a Labour paper is just to call attention to, not to cover up, that something else. However light your touch and tone may be, behind it all must be a consistent policy of exposure of class tyranny and defence of an oppressed class. The paper should aim at bringing to the light oppression (and there is no reason why this should not be *interesting*) not at observing or evading issues by flippancy. Such a paper would learn valuable lessons, especially in true Labour sensationalism (for there is such a thing) from the pre-war *Daily Herald*, the old *New York Call* and the *Humanité* and *Avanti*. But the discussion of this question—what a Labour daily should be—must be postponed; here we have only dealt with the question of what the only Labour daily is.

RAYMOND W. POSTGATE.

THE WORK AHEAD

The T.U.C. Scheme & Other Matters

DURING the last year nearly every new Trade Union Educational Scheme has been placed with the National Council of Labour Colleges. As the winter session opens with the publication of this issue, it will be worth while indicating some of the progress in the actual education work done.

The following figures show the number of N.C.L.C. classes and number of class students during the past three years :—

1922—23.	No. of Classes,	529.	Students,	11,993.
1923—24.	No. of Classes,	698.	Students,	16,909.
1924—25.	No. of Classes,	1048.	Students,	25,071.

The enormous increase each year indicates that the movement has something to live up to if this winter is going to show as notable an advance as its predecessors. It is important to observe that the above figures entirely exclude the students attending Summer, Day and Week-end Schools, public educational lectures, Trade Union branch lectures, and the many hundreds of students who study by means of N.C.L.C. Correspondence Courses.

That Two Pence!

While we are anxious to see still further increases in the number of students, it is equally important that our organisation throughout the country should improve to the same extent. Wherever possible, the affiliation fees payable by local organisations to local Colleges should not be less than 2d. per member per annum, with a minimum of 5s. This fee provides free access to winter classes and representation. As the N.C.L.C. stands for education financed and controlled by the working-class movement, one of the greatest tests of the success of any College's educational work is the number of affiliations it obtains from local working-class organisations.

Proud as we are of our past record, we must not make the mistake of thinking that the struggle in front of us is an easy one. It must not be forgotten that money counts and that our educational opponents (the W.E.A.) have their work subsidised from non-Labour sources to the extent of tens of thousands of pounds per annum.

The T.U.C. Scheme

There seems to be some little confusion about the T.U.C. Scheme. The scheme does not in any way affect our usual propaganda for Independent Working-Class Education and against the educational policy of the W.E.A. All we are bound to do is not to criticise the good faith (*i.e.*, good intentions) of the latter organisation. This we have never done : it is its *competency to educate the workers* which we have questioned and still question.

In an article on the T.U.C. Scheme in the last issue of the W.E.A.'s official journal, Mr. G. D. H. Cole puts in a plea for co-operation between the W.E.A. and the N.C.L.C. under the T.U.C. Scheme. Mr. Cole's article, however, is not likely to assist in bringing about that end, as he states clearly that "it must be plain to everybody that the new agreement (T.U.C.) does not involve any change in our (W.E.A.'s) educational faith."

Mr. Cole is aware that only after the greatest difficulty, and by

the threat of bringing the whole negotiations to an end, were the N.C.L.C. representatives successful in getting the W.E.A. to agree to alter the W.E.A.'s objects to include the equipping of the workers "for their Trade Union, Labour and Co-operative activities generally, in the work of securing social and industrial emancipation"—the main object of the T.U.C. Scheme. Mr. Cole knows, and so do the prominent officials of the W.E.A., that "securing social and industrial emancipation" means *ending capitalism*. They also know that the W.E.A. had never previously had that for its object. Mr. Cole, however, states that the W.E.A.'s educational faith has not changed. Are we to assume that there is a difference between the W.E.A.'s educational faith and its educational principles?

The main purpose of Mr. Cole's article seems to be to reassure all the reactionaries, who either lecture for the W.E.A. (in Edinburgh, for instance, the great bulk of their lecturers are hard-bitten Tories) or control some of the purse strings, that the object of the T.U.C. Scheme (education for the social and industrial emancipation of the workers) is not to be taken too seriously, and that the old practice of providing any kind of, and, in the main, governing-class education, is still to go cheerily on. An explanation of Mr. Cole's article is obviously required.

Education Authorities and the W.E.A.

It appears that in some quarters Education Authorities are getting tired of financing W.E.A. classes when they could run them entirely themselves. It is certainly to be hoped that those Authorities who insist on providing the W.E.A. type of education will more and more run the classes completely under their own control. To the extent that this happens, the class struggle becomes more obvious and there is a chance for the healthy elements in the W.E.A. to cease giving themselves a pronounced educational squint by having one eye on State funds and the other eye on the Labour Movement.

The Winter's Work

Our own task during the coming winter is to strengthen our organisation, increase the number of classes and students, and steadily raise the qualifications of our own lecturers. Every past student is asked to bring two students to this year's classes, and all students should ensure that their Trade Unions have educational schemes *directly with the N.C.L.C.*, as provided under the T.U.C. Scheme. That is the only way to ensure that as the T.U.C. Scheme develops, its educational policy will be that of Independent Working-Class Education.

J. P. M. MILLAR.

OUR NEXT TEXTBOOK

AS already announced, we hope to have ready by November 1st the latest addition to our Textbook Series—*An Outline History of Modern Europe*. The book will be published in the same form as the other volumes in the series, in limp cloth binding, price 2s. 6d., and it will be illustrated by full-page maps.

We shall be very greatly assisted in making arrangements for the first printing if literature secretaries will send us their orders as early as possible this month. This book is going to be a "best-seller"—a book which will prove to be invaluable to all I.W.C.Ers. You can materially help us to give it a good send-off by canvassing at once for orders and letting us know results.

In order that tutors and secretaries may start at once to make plans for classes based on the use of this textbook, we give below a short synopsis of the chapters:—

1. *The Rise of Merchant Capital.*

Decline of Feudalism; revival of trade and growth of towns; struggle of burghers against feudal lords (Netherlands, France, Germany, Italy and England); monopoly of trade as basis of merchant class; revolts of craftsmen; merchant capital and overseas discoveries; Renaissance and Reformation.

2. *Birth of the Bourgeois State.*

The new Nationalism; uniting of the Netherlands; Merchant Adventurers v. the Hanse; Tudor centralisation in England; the Crown and State of France; reaction in Germany and Spain; Italy; ocean commerce and trade wars; Mercantilism and colonial exploitation; revolt of the Colonies.

3. *The First Period of Capitalism.*

Creation of a proletariat; the Peasants' Revolt; enclosures and evictions; France, Germany and Russia; the subjection of the journeyman; from "free mining" to wage-slavery; the domestic system; the 17th century struggle in Britain; the subjection of the small master.

4. *The Industrial Revolution in England.*

The era of inventions; improvements in iron-making and transport; the new manufacturing class; political changes; the passing of Mercantilism; the plight of the workers; child slavery.

5. *The Liberal Political Revolutions: (a) The French Revolution.*

Feudal survivals in France; the Estates General; the storming of the Bastille; the King's flight to Varennes; the Convention; the triumph of the Jacobins; the Terror; the reaction of Thermidor; Babeuf's conspiracy.

6. *The Liberal Political Revolutions: (b) Europe, 1815—60.*

Napoleon; the July days, 1830; 1848 in Paris; Louis Blanc; Cavaignac crushes the workers; the triumph of Napoleon III.; 1848 in Germany—Hungary—Italy; Bismarck and German unity.

2. *The Middle Stage of Capitalism.*

Industrial change in France; the backwardness of Germany, Italy, and Russia; Liberal bourgeois England; the workers' movement; the dawn of Marxism; new developments in transport and metallurgy.

3. *The Final Period of Capitalism: Imperialism.*

Growth of joint-stock companies, trusts and combines; the new oligarchy of finance-capital; economic expansion of Germany; rise of British Imperialism; French and German imperialism; the colonial scramble; the fruits of monopoly; the workers' movement; revisionism; the 2nd International.

9. *The Prelude to 1914.*

Slav nationalism; Russian intervention in Balkans; the scramble for Africa; Franco-British rivalry; the Bagdad Railway; the alignment of the Powers; the period of chronic crises; Morocco; the Balkan Wars; Europe an armed camp; Sarajevo.

10. *Capitalism in Decline.*

Economic effects of the War; March and November, 1917, in Russia; the revolutionary wave in Europe; the Social-Democrats in Germany; reaction and Fascism; results of Versailles Treaty; the struggle for stability; the New East; the Far East; the Ruhr crisis; the Dawes Plan; revolt of colonial peoples.

The above summary should serve to indicate the importance and value of the book, which is now undergoing final revision, and will be in the printers' hands immediately. We urge every reader of THE PLEBS to help us beat all our previous records by bringing its publication to the notice of all keen workers in the Labour Movement.

A RESPONSE to TROTSKY

We published, in our May issue, an article by Comrade Maurice Dobb describing the controversy between Trotsky and the leaders of the Comintern. The following month Comrade Philips Price reviewed Max Eastman's book, "Since Lenin Died"; a book which Trotsky himself has formally "disavowed." We here publish Comrade Eastman's reply to that "disavowal," not because we think him necessarily and entirely right at every point in the controversy, but because we think that attempts to paint him as necessarily and entirely wrong entitle him to a full reply to his critics.

TROTSKY'S two disavowals of my book *Since Lenin Died*—the one published in *L'Humanité* for July 16th, and the other in the *Sunday Worker* for July 19th—leave me more convinced than before of the truth of my book and its value to the revolution. Where I stated that Lenin offered Trotsky his place as "President of the Council of People's

Commissars" during his illness, I should have written "Vice-President." This slip of the pen I had already corrected in the French edition. Otherwise there is not one essentially important word that I wish to change after reading Trotsky's comment.

I do not mean to pretend that it is a pleasure to have Trotsky announce that my book "has no political value," that it is "a literary construction," containing a "good quantity of erroneous and false generalities," etc. But these phrases all belong to the traditional formalities of a "Marxian" disavowal, and granted that Trotsky felt obliged to disavow my book, I cannot complain that he overdid the formalities. If my book contains "a good number of generalities," it contains hardly more than Trotsky's disavowal. And I would emphatically agree to dump all these generalities together into the ash-bin. "The truth is always concrete," according to the saying of Hegel so well loved by Lenin. And against the *concrete truth* in my book—the narrative and analysis of the dispute about Workers' Democracy, the assault upon Trotsky, its nature, its methods, its meaning, and its result—against that, Trotsky could not say one single word. My book stands essentially confirmed.

In order to prove this, I will respond to Trotsky's disavowal point by point, taking the earlier version in *L'Humanité* first, and mentioning the changes in the later one afterward.*

First, Trotsky imputes to me the statement "that since the change effected in its direction, the Red Army is divided, that it has lost its fighting capacity, etc." To this he replies that "it is evident that an army capable of being 'divided' as the result of a change of direction is neither communist nor proletarian." I did not say either of the things that Trotsky imputes to me. I said that the "organisation" of the army was "ripped to pieces and weakened of its power to defend the revolution." In order to refute what I really said, Trotsky would have to state that "it is evident that an army which can be weakened by having its organisation ripped to pieces is neither communist nor proletarian." And no human being in the world would believe such a statement.

Trotsky's second point has to do with my statement that certain letters written by Lenin to the party were "suppressed" by the Central Committee—"the Notes on the National Question, the famous 'Testament,' etc." (It is a relief to know on Trotsky's

* I happen to have written, two years ago, a biographical portrait of Trotsky's youth. As Trotsky gave me some assistance in that book, it was possible for a casual reader to infer that he had something to do with this present book. I stated the contrary fact in a footnote on page 26. I said that when Trotsky learned that I knew about the letter called the "Testament of Lenin," he told me to regard it as an "absolute secret." Trotsky not only had nothing to do with this book, but he had a limited part in the other. I confirm everything that he says on that point.

authority that this mysterious letter called Lenin's "Testament," whose very existence is denied by my official critics, not only exists, but enjoys fame.) Trotsky says that one might infer (from my book) "that Lenin destined these letters having to do with the interior organisation of the Soviets, for the press." I did not say any such thing nor ever have it in mind. I said that "the Central Committee of the party decided not to read Lenin's last letter to the party." I added in a footnote: "They decided that it might be read and explained privately to the delegates . . . but not put before the party for discussion, as Lenin directed." Trotsky says: "The letters were . . . brought to the attention of the members of the 12th and 13th congresses in the manner determined by the representation of these congresses." This means that the decision was made by the *praesidium* of each congress, and not by the Central Committee. Since it is the heads of the Central Committee who always decide who shall be the members of the *praesidium*, this is not a vital correction. My book is not about political formalities, but real facts.

Trotsky's third point has to do with the attempted suppression by the Triumvirate of Lenin's article on "Workers' and Peasants' Inspection." I do not fully understand what he says about this. I do not really understand it at all. I said in my book that I have no mysterious knowledge of events inside the Russian Party, and that in all these matters I depend entirely upon a letter addressed by Trotsky himself to the Central Committee of the party. Since Trotsky does not deny the authenticity of this all-important letter, it is obviously authentic. Here is what Trotsky himself says about the subject in question:—

One of the central questions is the question raised by Lenin himself about the reorganisation of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection and Central Control Committee. It is noticeable that even this question has been represented, and still is represented, as a subject of disagreement between Lenin and me, whereas this question, like the national question, gives an exactly opposite picture of the groupings in the Politburo. . . . How did the Politburo react to the project of reorganisation presented by Lenin? Bucharin did not make up his mind to print the article of Lenin, who, upon his side, insisted upon its immediate insertion. Comrade Krupskaja (Lenin's wife) informed me about this article by telephone and asked me to interfere with a view to its immediate publication. At the meeting of the Politburo summoned at my suggestion, all those present . . . were not only against the plan of Lenin, but against the insertion of the article. . . . In view of the insistent demand of Lenin that the article should be shown to him in printed form, Comrade Kuibeshev, the future Commissar of Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, proposed that we should print one issue of a special number of *Pravda*, containing the article of Lenin, in order to pacify him, but at the same time conceal the article from the party. Kuibeshev, the former secretary, has been placed at the head of the Central Control Committee [the party organisation identical in personnel with the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection]. Instead of an open struggle against Lenin's plan for the reorganisation of the W. & P.I., a policy of "pulling its teeth" was adopted.

Whether the Central Control Committee (with Kuibeshév at the head of it) acquired in this way the character of an independent and impartial party organ or not—into that question I need not enter, for it is perfectly clear without discussion.

Whatever the differences between this statement and the statement in my book, the one proves just as clearly as the other the essential fact; namely, that "the alignment of forces" in the conflict just before and after Lenin's final collapse "was exactly opposite to that which has been sedulously advertised by the victorious group."

Trotsky says that it was not a question of "suppressing" the article on Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, but merely of "determining the date and the mode of publication." Perhaps he will not mind my smiling at the "mode of publication" proposed by Kuibeshév. He says that Kuibeshév's signature at the bottom of a certain document "refutes my statement" that he was "placed at the head of the Commissariat of Workers' and Peasants' Inspection as 'an adversary' of Lenin's plan." It would, if I had made such a statement. My statement was this: "The degree to which the policy outlined by Lenin has been followed may be inferred from the fact that Kuibeshév, the ingenious secretary, is now the People's Commissar of Workers' and Peasants' Inspection."

Trotsky's fourth point reads as follows: "False also is the citation given by Eastman of the text of the 'testament' published in the *Socialistichesky Vestnik*." I did not cite the text of the testament published in the *Socialistichesky Vestnik*. On the contrary I stated (having that text in mind) that the rumours about this letter had been swelled to enormous size, that it was in fact very brief, and that I was giving the true text of it as verbally agreed upon by three responsible communists in Russia whom I interviewed separately, and who had read the letter recently and learned the important phrases by heart. I said that the reader could *depend absolutely* upon the words which I put in quotation marks. The fact that Trotsky, undertaking to disavow my book, *cannot deny these quotations*, but denies instead the text in the *Socialistichesky Vestnik*, is simply a final and authoritative confirmation of them.

Trotsky's fifth point is that "Eastman's statement that the Central Committee confiscated my brochures or my articles . . . are erroneous and based upon fantastical rumours." I made no such statements. I said that Trotsky's book *The New Course* was "practically suppressed by the Politburo." About the other book I said "some technical reason was found for a three weeks' delay in its publication," while "the whole literary and oratorical force of the ruling machine was turned loose to the business of creating an official opinion of Trotsky's book." Why does not Trotsky—here as elsewhere—deny what I *actually said* instead of denying something else? Because what I said is accurately true and cannot be denied.

All these six concrete points relate only to the *introduction* of my book, the part anteceding the conflict about Workers' Democracy which I set out to describe and explain. For the rest Trotsky adds that "an attentive reading of the brochure would doubtless enable me to indicate a series of other errors and alterations." Certainly no historian ever described a complex political event so accurately that one of the chief participants could not "indicate a series of errors and alterations." Until the time comes for Trotsky to point out these errors and alterations, it is obvious that my general account of the facts is confirmed. The reader need only ask himself whether he wishes to know the truth about what happened in Russia after Lenin died, or whether he prefers to believe in a myth.

In his concluding paragraph Trotsky asks a question which I want to answer.

"If one admits," he says, "the evaluation formulated by Eastman of the composition of the directive of our party, one asks himself: How has this party been able to pass through long years of underground struggle, how has it been able to accomplish the greatest of revolutions, how can it lead millions of men, and contribute to the formation of revolutionary parties in other lands? . . . A revolutionist would have the right to write as Eastman does, only if he wished to oppose another party to ours."

Since it is a Marxian who asks this question, I suppose that an answer is expected in the spirit of Marxian science. I answer it as follows :

The heroism and revolutionary greatness of the Russian Communist Party has no firmer or more loyal eulogist than I. I have paid my tributes and declared my allegiance to the Russian Party in unqualified language in the American press, and I have done so at a time when it cost me more than it does now. I have defended uncompromisingly its exercise of the dictatorship in Russia. I still do defend it. None of the adjectives which I was compelled to use in order to define with objective exactitude the conduct of certain of its leaders, or governing groups, imply anything to the contrary. But notwithstanding my admiration for the Russian Party, and my continued defence of its dictatorship, I refuse to be deluded into thinking that the Russian Party is composed of anything else besides real human beings, changing in their relations, changing in their characters, changing in their identity. For that reason this party is to be approached in any practical discussion, just as any other organisation, from the standpoint of the general laws of history, and not from the standpoint of moral or æsthetic, heroic or sentimental, praise or blame. And if there is any law of history which is indubitable, it is the law which tells us that the one and only thing which can keep this party revolutionary—now that it controls the wealth of the entire Russian empire—is its real and uninterrupted identity with the *working class*. To use the phrase

of Lenin, it must "unite leaders-class-masses in one single indissoluble whole." It cannot do that—after the military struggle is over—if it becomes a bureaucratic organisation ruled from the top. Trotsky fought to prevent this—to prevent (in his own words) "a bureaucratisation of the party, entailing a separation of the party from the mass." He lost the fight. That is the fact of supreme importance to everybody in the world who regards the revolution as a scientific enterprise, and not an adventure in sentiment. That is the fact stated in my book.

I repeat my statement: "A group against whose domination Lenin warned the party . . . have established and solidified to an extremely dangerous degree a dictatorship of the officialdom within the Russian Communist Party."

That I am not permitted to state this fact without being denounced throughout the world as a counter-revolutionist, is simply a further evidence of the fact. That Trotsky is not permitted even to disavow me with dignity and a recognition of my sincerity, as he did in *L'Humanité*, without being himself "disavowed" and savagely assaulted by the Central Committee of the French Party, is still further evidence of it.

Bureaucratism, and bureaucratic suppressions and distortions of the truth, is the disease from which the Russian Party, and the whole International, and thus the whole revolutionary movement, is suffering. I offer no other explanation, and I offer no apology, for having, somewhat unexpectedly and to the practical inconvenience of some people, told the exact truth about a supremely important event, which lies at the origin of this condition.

MAX EASTMAN.

NOTES BY THE WAY for Students and Tutors

W.E.A. Ideals in Germany

THE two latest issues of the *International Trade Union Review* both contain articles on workers' educational experiments in Europe. In the April-June number, Dr. Theodor Cassau (Berlin), writes on "College-Trained Workers in the Trade Union Movement"; and in July-September, Dr. H. Seelbach on "The State School of Economics, at Düsseldorf, as a Workers' Educational Institution." Both

articles support our view that the principle of Independent Working-Class Education is very little understood on the Continent. Dr. Cassau's contention is that persons "better educated" than ordinary workers are needed to carry on trade union work; and though he is prepared to discuss the possibility of the unions carrying on extension work for selected members ("the work of the W.E.A. is worthy of special consideration from this point of view, and ought to be

better known on the Continent"), his conclusion is that "college-trained persons" (i.e., middle-class University men) are at present indispensable.

The Düsseldorf School, the subject of the second article, is State-supported (the writer says that "the revolutionary changes in Germany, from 1918 onwards . . . transformed the altitude of the State to the working class," and resulted in "the problem of providing leaders for the working class" becoming "a matter deserving of public attention"). The subjects studied are Economics, Social Politics, Law, and Languages. And "the principle which guides the choice of subjects is the desire to equip the student with a political education which shall not be partisan, but will make him a good citizen, and meet his practical needs. . . . This standpoint of the School is somewhat similar to that of the famous British Workers' Educational Association, but the School is, of course, free from the trammels which the Association owes to its early history."

We should like to hear more about those "trammels"!

Canada and the Empire

An article on *Anglo-American Imperialist Co-operation* by J. Pepper in No. 10, *Communist International*, is well worthy of note by all students and teachers in courses of Imperialism. Radek has been arguing that the U.S. and British financiers are co-operating, and to that extent the workers' revolution will be slowed down, and a capitalist attack on Soviet Russia be probable. Pepper gathers together weighty evidence concerning separatist tendencies in Canada, the struggle for markets and materials between the two countries and the growth of the U.S. military forces.

In the *Labour Magazine* (September), however, W. B. Kerr answers the question, Will Canada break away? with a No. This is qualified by presuming an effective Labour Government here to which Labour in Canada would prefer to remain attached. We do not think his argument is convincing, but at least it is worth examination.

Ready September 24th.

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"Whither, England?"

A book by Trotsky with the above title has just been published in New York. The following extracts from the preface are of considerable interest:—

"The inference to which I am led by my study is that England is heading rapidly toward an era of great revolutionary upheavals. . . . England is headed for revolution because she has already entered the stage of capitalist disintegration. If the guilty must be found, if we must ask: What accelerates England's progress on the path of revolution? the answer is, not Moscow, but New York. This answer may appear paradoxical, yet it is the simple truth. The powerful and constantly growing influence of the United States on world affairs is rendering more and more impossible and hopeless the situation of British industry, British trade, British finance and British diplomacy. The United States cannot but tend to expand in the world market, failing which its own industry will be threatened with apoplexy because of the richness of its blood. The United States can only expand at the expense of the other exporting countries, which means, particularly, England. In view of the patented Dawes method of harnessing the economic life of an entire mighty nation in the traces of American supervision, it almost provokes a smile to hear people speak of the revolutionary significance of one "Moscow" pamphlet or another.

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Under the cover of what is called the pacification and rehabilitation of Europe, immense revolutionary and military conflicts are preparing for the morrow. . . . By exerting pressure on its debtors, or giving them an extension, by granting or refusing credit to European countries, the United States is placing them in a gradually tightening economic dependence, in the last analysis an ineluctable situation, which is the necessary condition for inevitable social and revolutionary disturbances. The Communist International, viewed in the light of this knowledge, may be considered an almost conservative institution as compared with Wall Street. Morgan, Dawes, Julius Barnes—these are among the artificers of the approaching European revolution.

"In its work in Europe and elsewhere the United States is generally acting in co-operation with England, through the agency of England. But this collaboration means for England an increasing loss of independence. England is leading the United States to hegemony, as it were. Relinquishing their world rôle, the diplomats and magnates of England are recommending their former clients to deal with the new master of the world. The common action of the United States and England is the cloak for a profound worldwide antagonism between these two Powers, by which the threatening conflicts of the perhaps not remote future are being prepared.

"This brief preface is not the place in which to speak of the fate of America itself. There is no doubt that capital to-day nowhere feels itself so strong as in America. . . . But in spite of all its huge power, American capitalism is not a self-contained factor, but a part of world economy. Furthermore, the more powerful the industry of the United States becomes, the more intimate and profound becomes its dependence on the world market. Driving the European countries farther and farther down their blind alley, American capitalism is laying the foundation for wars and revolutionary upheavals, which in their frightful rebound will not fail to strike the economic system of the United States also. . . . The inevitable hour will strike for American capitalism also; the American oil and steel magnates, trust and export leaders,

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the multi-millionaires of New York, Chicago and San Francisco, are performing—though unconsciously—their predestined revolutionary function. And the American proletariat will ultimately discharge theirs."

Esperanto in the Service of Organised Labour

The decision at Scarborough on this matter (as reported in the *D. H.*, 11/9/25) was appropriate in a conference where other important forward steps were taken. The N.C.L.C. has already adopted an Esperanto Correspondence Course, and the international language has figured on the curriculum of local classes and the Labour College (London) for many years. Here as in other matters the T.U.C. will find that our movement has anticipated its needs. Details of classes now available will be supplied upon request.

Comrade Farrant (Cardiff) raises the question of natural wealth and the Labour Theory of Value. Marx never denied the importance of natural wealth to a country, and his theory is not one of *wealth* but of *value*, which he uses throughout as meaning economic value. Labour alone creates exchange value with which economic science is primarily concerned.

THE PLEBS ANNUAL MEET : REPORT

THE 16th Annual Meet of the Plebs League was held at "Woodlands," Whaley Bridge, Derbyshire, on Sunday, September 13th. There was a splendid attendance, Lancashire comrades in particular turning out in great force. The weather was more than kind, and both morning and afternoon sessions were held outdoors on the terrace, overlooking the Derbyshire hills.

In the unavoidable absence of the Chairman of the E.C., R. W. Postgate, the chair was taken by E. BRADSHAW (Sheffield)*. Bradshaw excused himself from delivering any address, and proceeded to indicate the nature of the agenda, suggest a time-table, and express the hearty thanks of everyone present to R. H. Moores and the other Manchester comrades who had made such excellent arrangements for the Meet.

The Secretary (WINIFRED HERRABIN) presented a report on the year's work (embodying the E.C.'s report published in the February PLEBS). She made a strong appeal for increased membership now that the T.U.C. Scheme had made it vitally important for all convinced I.W.C.E.ers to keep in touch with one another, and to watch developments closely. For this same reason she asked that all Groups should communicate regularly with Head Office, in order that notes on their activities could appear in the magazine and thus serve as an incentive to other districts. Other subjects touched on in the report were the two very successful Plebs Summer Schools held this year; and the gratifying increase in the circulation of the magazine during the past twelve months.

The report was adopted unanimously; as also were the Financial Report and Balance Sheet (published in the August PLEBS).

* A letter from R. W. P., to be read as a "Chairman's Address," was unfortunately delayed in the post and only reached the Secretary after her return to London. Readers will find it printed at the end of this report.

The Editor (J. F. HERRABIN) reported on Publications. As had already been stated, the circulation of the magazine had increased from 25 to 33 per cent. during the past year. There had been the usual slight drop during the summer months, but the figure had always been more than 1,200 higher than at the beginning of last winter's session. The 10,000 figure we had aimed at for so long was well within reach, and ought certainly—given a little additional effort all round—to be passed this winter.

No new textbooks had been issued during the year, but second and third editions of the Economics Textbook, a second edition of the Economic Geography book, and a fifth edition of the Psychology book, had been printed. Two additions to the Sixpenny Series had been made—*Fascism*, and *The Co-operative Movement*; and two pamphlets, *Bulgaria* (2d.) and *The Banks and The Workers* (4d.) had been issued during the past summer. In addition to these, we had sold nearly 1,000 copies of *Working-Class Education* (J. F. and W. Herrabin), 700 copies of a cheap edition of Toller's *Masses and Man*, and varying numbers of other books, including N. Edwards' *Industrial Revolution in S. Wales*, Hammond's *Town Labourer*, Upton Sinclair's *The Goose-Step*, etc., etc.

Plans for the immediate future included two new textbooks, *An Outline History of Modern Europe* (to be published next month) and *An Outline History of the British Working-Class*, which it is hoped will be ready early in the new year.

The discussion on the report, in which comrades A. COHEN (Manchester), FLOOD (Manchester), STARR (London), WILLIAMS (Mansfield), REDFERN (Manchester) and FRED CASEY (Bury), joined, mainly dealt with (a) the question whether the magazine was to be regarded as a Left Wing organ, discussing current questions, or an educational journal, concentrating on educational

subjects; and (b) the quality of certain of the pamphlets and smaller publications recently issued, on which there was considerable diversity of opinion. Com. Casey made some valuable suggestions as to "selling methods" and the organisation of local circulation (which we hope to get him to write up for the magazine).

Replying to the discussion, the Editor urged that it was impossible, owing to the very nature of our educational aims, to draw any hard-and-fast line in the magazine between articles on current problems, industrial and political, and articles on specifically "educational" subjects. He hoped we should never attempt to draw any such line. On the question of the quality (or otherwise) of PLEBS publications, it had been made clear that different people held different views. He could assure them that nothing was issued by the League except after careful consideration and discussion by the Publication Committee, and after all possible efforts—short of taking a plebiscite—had been made to ascertain the views of I.W.C.E.ers. in various parts of the country.

The report was unanimously agreed to.

WINIFRED HERRABIN, on behalf of the E.C., moved the following resolution:—

"That this Meet, in view of the new T.U.C. Scheme and the taking over of the residential Labour College by the T.U.C. General Council, pledges itself to work for an immediate and wide extension of Plebs League membership and the formation of active Plebs groups reporting regularly to Head Office."

The chairman pointed out that those who had any comments to make, or questions to ask, about the T.U.C. Scheme now had an opportunity of doing so.

J. F. HERRABIN urged that Plebs' policy in relation to the Scheme should be a more insistent and persistent propaganda of I.W.C.E. principles. The Scheme asked them to co-operate with none but Trade Unionists and Labour men and women; and no Trade Unionist or Labour man could deny that the principle of I.W.C.E. was the same principle as that on which the whole working-class movement was based.

GWILLIAM (Manchester) said there was

need for considerable caution in their attitude to the Scheme. He wanted to know what line Plebs were now to take when appealing to a Trade Council to affiliate to the N.C.L.C. Were they—as hitherto—to oppose affiliation to the W.E.A.? Or were they, now that both organisations were recognised by Congress, to be content to ask only a fifty-fifty share with the other body.

BREWEN (Manchester) said the Scheme appeared to him to resemble most the two far-famed Kilkenny cats, tied to a line. Their job was to see that it was the N.C.L.C. cat which survived.

J. P. M. MILLAR (Edinburgh) said that the Scheme made no difference whatever to our propaganda. The answer to the point raised by Gwilliam therefore was: carry on exactly as you did before; i.e., oppose the W.E.A. on the ground of principle. He pointed out that there was practically no Scheme as regards the classes; it was only the residential Colleges which were being taken over. Our policy was to agitate for the financing of all workers' education by working-class funds, and against the acceptance of State or University grants.

INGLE (Manchester), supporting the extension of League membership to include all active I.W.C.E.ers, asked for an expression of opinion as to the desirability of insisting on certain qualifications as a condition of admission to membership of the League.

HILL (Birkenhead) described the very successful working of the Liverpool and District Students' Association, which included Plebs League membership.

WINIFRED HERRABIN replied to the discussion, and the resolution was put and carried unanimously.

MARK STARR, on behalf of the E.C., moved the following resolution:—

"That the Plebs E.C. recommends its members and groups, in order to assist in maintaining close contact between N.C.L.C. classes and the present day problems of the workers to urge (i) the introduction of courses on current affairs wherever desirable and (ii) the introduction of new subjects to interest workers hitherto unattracted."

Starr said that clause (i) aimed at asking tutors to interpolate into their lecture-courses, whenever desirable

either special lectures or discussions on any important current issue—international, e.g., China, Bulgaria; industrial, e.g., the miners' dispute, etc., etc. Clause (ii) referred to play-readings; literature classes, training in the conduct of meetings, experiments in new teaching methods, etc.

GWILLIAM, seconding, said that while they had to beware of being side-tracked on to secondary issues, and while History and Economics must remain their basic subjects, yet they must not lose sight of the need for attracting new types of students. He emphasised the value of Literature as a "pointer" to other fields of study.

FLOOD (Manchester) supported the resolution, but took exception to play-readings and purely cultural subjects as a waste of time from the I.W.C.E. point of view. Such subjects attracted the wrong type of people. Nero was a practical-minded man compared to the

not attract workers, but brought in middle-class dilettantes who were more hindrance than help. He challenged the Editor to defend his plea for the usefulness of play-readings and similar activities. He strongly supported clause (i) of the resolution.

CASEY (Bury) and DAY (Manchester) also spoke.

HORRABIN, granted by the chairman two minutes only to reply to Redfern's challenge, said that neither play-readings nor economics classes were useful in themselves, but only in so far as they bore directly on the problem of rousing and strengthening class-consciousness.

The chairman said that in Sheffield they had found play-reading distinctly useful. He also urged that they had available tutors for Literature classes, and it was folly not to make use of them if we were satisfied that they could assist our work.

**WILL EVERY PLEBS LEAGUER MAKE
IT HIS BUSINESS TO GET ORDERS FOR
OUR NEW TEXTBOOK THIS MONTH?**

people who read plays while the class-struggle was on.

COHEN (Manchester) urged that any competent economics lecturer must inevitably discuss current problems. He deprecated Literature classes, and asked why we should recommend workers to waste their time on novels. Social and cultural activities were all very pretty, but we could not "tango our way to the Revolution." We wanted education without frills.

WINIFRED HORRABIN said our job was to bring the basic fact of the class-struggle home to the mass of the workers, and to do that we must use any and every means which would make our message a really *living* thing. She referred to a concert given before the Mass Demonstration at the Scarborough T.U.C., and said that in her opinion it was tragic that there was not a single item which had a definitely working-class appeal.

REDFERN (Manchester) had no use for Drama or Music, so far as our movement was concerned. They did

STARR, replying, said that there had been no opposition to most of the points named by him as coming within the scope of the resolution. He himself had found play-reading immensely useful. Some of the keenest discussions he had ever listened to followed the reading of *Masses and Man*.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

HORRABIN, on behalf of the E.C., moved this resolution:—

"Whereas I.W.C.E. is based upon the class struggle, this Meet declares that it is urgent to apply the final clause of the League's constitution, and for this purpose to use the organisation for the holding of Left Wing discussions, etc., between members of all Labour organisations, for the purpose of building up a class-conscious Left Wing."

CRISPIN (Derby), seconding, said our aim was not education for education's sake, but education for the sake of the working-class movement. Discussions such as were suggested in the

resolution ought therefore to conclude every lecture-course.

COHEN declared that our job was education—not the building-up of a Left Wing. We must not become the tools of any political party; that would merely hinder our proper work.

STARR said the resolution did not mean that we should make such conferences or discussions our main job. But it was not straining our principles for our Groups to try to constitute themselves into forums where every section of the workers' movement could meet on common ground.

MILLAR thought the resolution ought to receive very careful consideration before it was passed. We had to avoid tying our movement to any one section or party. Our aim was the building-up, not merely of "a class-conscious Left Wing," but a class-conscious workers' movement.

NOONAN (Birkenhead) supported Millar. In his district they were at present actually carrying out the recommendation of the resolution. But nothing would be gained by their going about wearing a large label, "Left Wing."

BREWEN thought Millar was forgetting the distinction between the N.C.L.C. and the Plebs League. He saw no reason why the latter should not take up a definite line in relation to current issues, though he hoped this would mean more than "10-round contests

between highbrows" in the pages of *The Plebs*.

HORRABIN said he was willing to amend the resolution to read (concluding words) "... the purpose of building-up a class-conscious workers' movement."

NOONAN moved and HILL seconded an amendment deleting the words "Left Wing" in both instances from the resolution.

REDFERN moved and COHEN seconded that the resolution be referred back to the E.C., on the ground that the Constitution itself covered this particular sphere of activity.

A vote being taken on this motion, the figures were:—For reference back, 24; against, 18.

MILLAR announced that arrangements were in hand for the holding of a joint N.C.L.C.—Plebs Summer School next year, to last two weeks. The first fortnight in July was the most likely date, so far as present information went.

The Meet then terminated.

Everyone present was delighted to meet Scott Nearing, of America, who was a very interested listener to the discussions, and who, in the course of informal conversations, told us a great deal about the present position and prospects of the Workers' Education movement in America, and the American Labour movement generally.

LETTER FROM R. W. POSTGATE (CHAIRMAN, PLEBS E.C.) TO THE PLEBS MEET

COMRADES—I very deeply regret that I shall be unable to preside this year at the Annual Meet, which will have decisions of the gravest importance to make.

It is a commonplace of all chairmen to say that, and to add that "we meet in troublous times"—perhaps even to say, "These are the times that try men's souls." But I am writing these words quite seriously. The N.C.L.C., because it really had no alternative, has accepted a T.U.C. scheme under which there will be influences always attempting to undermine the class character of our teaching. Every effort is being, and will be, put out to force us into a real co-operation with the

W.E.A., in the hope that the wealthier organisation will sap the vitality and independence of the teachers of the proletarian body. Prominent supporters of the W.E.A. boast—indeed, have boasted to me personally—that Plebs teachers are teaching for them; and that this is a regular and known thing. There is a ban on such teaching it is true; but it is claimed that in many cases it is not observed, and that the pressure of financial need has laid open the way for the W.E.A. people to revive their dearest claim—that they can supply Labour College education.

We know, of course, that they are exaggerating. But the danger is very real, and will become worse. There is no protection against it but the revival of the Plebs League, and the use of its influence to enforce the ban. As it is

the Plebs League is too often forgotten, and the Secretary will tell you of whole areas in the N.C.L.C. where the membership among organisers and secretaries is far too small.

You will also be asked to pronounce upon a proposal which continues and extends the work of the Plebs League Executive in arranging for conferences between the various sections of the political Left Wing, in pursuance of the new constitution. On this, it should be observed that the Plebs League has never been strong except when, as in the beginning, it was closely connected with a fighting revolutionary

movement outside. No "above the battle" academics for us. Secondly, it must be remembered that the Plebs League alone is free from entanglements with any one political section. This and this only enables it to provide a "forum," as it is called, in which the class-conscious elements of the I.L.P., C.P. and Labour Parties can meet in peace. To lose this freedom, or to be even suspected of being attached to the wheels of any one political organisation, would ruin our usefulness.

With fraternal greetings,

RAYMOND W. POSTGATE.

LETTERS

SUMMER SCHOOL REPORTS

The Secretary of the N.C.L.C. has forwarded to us the following letter received from the Edinburgh District S.L.C. :—

DEAR SIR,—At the district meeting held here in Edinburgh on the 12th inst. I was instructed to convey to you the following protest, with the request that you convey through the official N.C.L.C. channels the purport thereof to the Plebs E.C.

The Edinburgh District of the Scottish Labour College protests against the amount of space in recent issues of *The PLEBS* which has been devoted to describing the amusement side of Summer Schools, and suggests that it does not enthuse or amuse Plebs in the workshop, and makes the selling of *The PLEBS* more and more difficult. It also suggests that if there is any matter in the lectures and discussions, additional to that already appearing, the space would be better utilised for this.

It also objects to *The PLEBS* being made the place for either attacking members of the College movement or defending them personally, although it recognises the value of conflicting views being discussed.

It desires to state that this is in no way meant to be taken otherwise than helpful criticism.

[We are glad to receive frank criticisms of this kind.

In reply to the suggestion that too much space has been devoted to the "amusement" side of Summer Schools, we should like to point out (i.) that in every instance much more space has been devoted to reporting the discussions (*e.g.*, in the case of the Cober Hill School—the only one to which many pages were given—more than two-thirds of the report dealt with the lectures and discussions); (ii.) that the social side of the Schools is, in our view, of very real importance in building up a comradeship which is emphatically an asset to our movement; and we could quote many letters from Plebs stating that they were attracted to the Summer Schools because the reports made it clear that they were not simply "schools," but gatherings of comrades who had a good time together. If we have overrated the interest of such accounts to those of our comrades unable to attend, we apologise. Our aim, we ask them to believe, was certainly not to flaunt our own good fortune, but simply to try and tempt them to join us another year.

In reply to the second part of the letter, objecting to the discussion of personal issues, we have only to say that we take due note of the criticism. —Ed., PLEBS.]

SOURCE WANTED

DEAR EDITOR,—I have the following quotation, stated to have been written by Professor J. A. Hobson in one of

his books:—"The history, the political economy, the literature and biology taught in schools and colleges under the control of persons whose training and characters are moulded by 'class' influences will inevitably be anti-democratic. They will continue to construct and propagate, as they have always done, a politics and economics designed to ward off assaults upon the vested interests of which they are the intellectual mercenaries." Could any Pleb inform me of the source of this?

Yours fraternally,
H. WILLIAMS.

"IT MAKES ME SAD TO THINK OF
TEACHERS"

DEAR COMRADE,—“B.A. (London)—Hard-boiled” may like to learn the following:—The Coal Merchants' Federation recently issued a “confidential

circular,” describing their activities, which stated that they had sent copies of a booklet to (I think) 6,000 schoolmasters, University dons, clergymen, etc.

I hope and trust a good many of said schoolmasters would chuck the thing into the waste-paper basket. But I am more than a little afraid that there are still a few thousands of them who haven't yet realised that their job—under capitalism—is, primarily to discriminate “capitalist truth”; and that their employers regard Cézanne, Shelley, etc., in the same light as they regard jockeys, footballers and music-hall comedians—as useful means for distracting people's minds from the subject of how to overthrow capitalism.

Yours frat.,

U. S.

The Education Worker's International

The writer of the following short article, Comrade D. Capper, of the Teachers' Labour League, urged at the Annual Conference of the Manchester Labour College that there should be close co-operation between the League and the N.C.L.C. His report of the E.W.I. Conference will give Plebeians some idea of the aims and objects of the Teachers' Labour League.

ON August 23—24, at Paris, and on the 25—26th at Brussels took place the third International Conference of the Education Workers' International, which I attended as a fraternal delegate from the Teachers' Labour League.

There were present delegates from the following affiliated organisations: Belgian Socialist Teachers' Union, Luxembourg Teachers' Union (these two trade unions affiliated through their national T.U. centres to Amsterdam), French Teachers' Federation, Russian Education Workers' Union (affiliated to the R.I.L.U.), and the Portuguese Teachers' Union, independent of both Internationals. The Bulgarian section (R.I.L.U.) and the Italian section (Amsterdam) had both been dissolved by their respective governments, and the latter was represented by an unofficial delegate. The Spanish section (Amsterdam) was not represented at

the Conference. In addition a large number of active groups of militant teachers in European and colonial countries were represented.

The status of the above organisations differ. The Portuguese and Belgian sections, for instance, are recognised Trade Unions, and though comparatively small, are the only real Labour organisations of teachers in their countries. The French section is a minority Trade Union, affiliated to the C.G.T.U. (left-wing T.U.C. of France). The majority organisation of French teachers only recently decided to affiliate to the C.G.T. (right-wing), but is not yet affiliated to the Education Workers International (E.W.I.). The Russian section, which is an industrial union, and the only T.U. for teachers in that country, includes all workers connected with education, *i.e.* scientists and Press workers in addition to school teachers. The latter however form a clear majority

of the membership. It is clear therefore that the unity of both wings has to a large extent achieved in the E.W.I.

It should be noted moreover that this unity is based upon the acceptance of the Constitution of the E.W.I., which lays down as conditions of affiliation: (1) the recognition of the class struggle for the liberation of the workers; (2) the struggle against imperialism, war, and world fascism; (3) recognition and acceptance of international discipline.

The following quotations from the Constitution indicate an entirely new departure in the international organisation of teachers:—

"The school under capitalism serves, above all, the interests of the propertied classes, with a view, on the one hand, to the formation of an isolated stratum of privileged persons capable of directing the capitalist society, of assuring the functioning of its machinery and of causing its prerogatives to be respected, and, on the other hand, to maintaining the great majority of the people in the state of a mass intellectually enslaved as blind instruments of capitalism.

"In such a society teachers are not only incapable of being the bearers of a higher culture for the young, but fall themselves into a state of intellectual dependence on the capitalist system, becoming bureaucratic officials and badly paid wage-slaves of capital and its state.

"The emancipation of teachers from their wretched position, from the material as well as the intellectual point of view, forms an organic part of the liberation of the people's school from its enslavement by capitalism, and its transformation into a real workshop of culture for the benefit of the whole of humanity. The social revolution alone is capable of creating a free school and free teachers, while at the same time freeing the toiling masses. Only the workers have an effective and durable interest in the refashioning of the present methods of education.

"The teachers' struggle for the betterment of their material and moral position cannot effectively be waged as a struggle for securing certain privileges within the capitalist system, but only as an active struggle for social change waged in collaboration with the organised working class.

"The teachers' struggle should not

therefore be carried on only with a view to obtaining economic advantages and for the narrow interests of the profession. It should also be a struggle against the mastery of capitalist ideas over the schools.

"In order to wage an effective struggle for the material, civil and intellectual improvement of the teachers' position, it is necessary to unite all the national organisations of teachers operating on the basis of the class struggle in an international organisation.

"This International is the 'Teachers' International' (*Internationale de l'Enseignement*), which has existed since 1920—22, to be called henceforward the *Education Workers' International, Paris*."

This birth of a new outlook among teachers of many countries rendered the Conference intensely interesting to the members of the (British) Teachers' Labour League who were present. It is impossible in this article to give more than a very brief outline of the work of the Conference. In the question of education, the E.W.I., while realising that the modern school is simply a weapon in the hands of the capitalist class, decided to continue the study of the question before pronouncing definitely upon it, owing to the different stages of development reached by the sections. In the teaching of history the E.W.I. may be said to take the point of view of the N.C.L.C. The immediate organisational aim of the E.W.I. is best expressed in the words of Korostelev, a Russian delegate and President of the Russian section. "We realise that in all countries outside Soviet Russia conditions are definitely against the creation of large organisations of class-conscious teachers. We must concentrate on quality, not on quantity. Numbers will come after the revolution. Meanwhile the aim of the E.W.I. must be to create in each country, especially in the Colonies and the East, at least a skeleton organisation of militant teachers, functioning as a part of the Labour movement, and carrying on an energetic propaganda among teachers. We should not force the pace."

The reports of the affiliated sections was a striking proof of the claim that teachers are part of the working class. Strike action of teachers in Belgium,

the struggle for higher salaries in France, the fearful brutalities practised on teachers in Bulgaria (about 100 teachers killed and hundreds dismissed for taking part in the working-class movement) the effect of the white terror in Italy and Roumania on teachers, all these are very clear signs of the times.

Many lessons are to be learnt from this Conference, both by teachers and by supporters of the N.C.L.C. The main lesson is that in this country practically no attempt has been made by the Labour movement to penetrate the ranks of the teachers. The N.C.L.C. is doing valuable and indispensable work, but one of its chief difficulties consists in endeavouring to remedy in the adult worker the harm done to him as a child by an imperialist teacher. It

is somewhat absurd to attempt to wrest from the grip of capitalism one of its most potent weapons, education, while ignoring the scores of thousands of non-class-conscious teachers, whose work makes it possible for this huge machine of anti-working-class education to go grinding on.

In conclusion it should be stated that the N.E.C. of the Teachers' Labour League has approved the unanimous recommendation of the League delegation to the Conference, and has decided unanimously to recommend to our next Conference, that the League affiliate to the E.W.I.*

D. CAFFER.

*Copies of the English edition of E.W.I. Bulletin to be obtained from me, free, at 15, Manchester Road, Altrincham, Cheshire.

REVIEWS

WORLD SOLIDARITY

Getting Together. By M. Tomsky (Labour Research Department, 1s.).

AT the present time the struggle for Trade Union Unity at home is apt to overshadow the equally important struggle for International Trade Union Unity. The production of this book is therefore welcome, especially as its publication under the auspices of the Labour Research Department should ensure it a wider circulation than is usual with similar publications issued by the various political parties. In one important chapter Tomsky gives a brief history, up-to-date, of the whole of the negotiations between the Russian Trade Unions, the British T.U.C. and the two Internationals.

This collection of speeches by Tomsky and others on the burning question of International Trade Union Unity should drive home to all workers the lesson that:—"The logic of the class struggle, the logic of the industrial struggle, and the logic of political problems as they are now shaping themselves in Europe and throughout the world—all lead us to the question of the unity of the working-class movement."

J. E. M.

A PROPAGANDA NOVEL

This Slavery. By Ethel Carnie Holdsworth (Labour Publishing Co., 2s. 6d.).

First, congratulations to the publishers for producing a novel for working-class readers at something like a working-class price.

Ethel Carnie knows the life she is writing about—that of the Lancashire mill-slaves. Her characters, or many of them, have the convincing touch that comes of being drawn straight from life. A particularly delightful study is that of old Bob, a drunken old sinner whose way of doing his bit for the workers' movement was to chalk pavements and walls with such phrases as "The rich we have with us always, everywhere, otherwise we would not have any poor"; "If we worshipped the sun we might not be content to live where the sun never shines." Then there is Rachel—hefty and outspoken—who exclaims, over Granny's coffin (Granny had been religious), "Did the Church fight the things and the folks that made her poor? Or has it not throughout its whole black and bloody history upheld the rotten traditions of them who have the power to go on murdering folk to keep that power? Did it offer her a way out of the damned struggle, or did it chuck a tombstone on her and ask her to wait till the

See description of our new Textbook on p. 392.

trumpet yelled afore she could find a heaven?"

This Slavery, as these quotations show, strikes the real, proletarian note; and this makes one regret all the more certain melodramatic passages and incidents which really detract from its strength. "Penny plain" is always more effective than "twoperce coloured." Nevertheless, this is certainly a book to use on the unconverted.

H. O. B.

A PRIMER OF ECONOMICS

A Worker Looks at Economics. By Mark Starr (Labour Publishing Co. Paper 1s., Cloth 2s. 6d.).*

This is the biggest little book any Plebeian has produced in the sphere of economics. It escapes some of the confusion prevalent in the *PLEBS Outline*. There is no purchasing-power-parity-tripe about it, thank goodness!

Mark Starr needs no introduction to Plebeians. But in this review it is necessary to ask readers not to miss the preface, wherein the author defines the limitations he has imposed on himself. In this event they will not expect a full and adequate treatment of everything in Marx's three volumes, but will just take it for what it actually is—namely, a plain, readable and interesting introduction to the science all workers should study.

Nor is it merely interesting. It is informative. Indeed, very much so, for the author has compressed more good economics into eighty-three pages of text than the reviewer has ever seen done before.

In case the reader should take this to be simply a boost, a mere press puff, let us hasten to add that notwithstanding all that has been said the book has some faults—the faultless book, of course, has never yet been written.

Taking the whole thing *seriatim*, Chapter 1 presents the problems to be solved, so easily that even a casual reader could not misunderstand.

Chapter 2 does not sufficiently distinguish between Value and Exchange value; though it conveys the meaning of the Theory of Value probably as well as could be done in the space.

The amount of information about monetary theory that has been got

into the eight pages of Chapter 3 is remarkable.

In Chapter 4 Capital and Surplus Value are carefully explained.

There are a few slips in Chapter 5, e.g. (p. 38), "Labour is human force or energy." Obviously the author means that labour is the *expenditure* of energy but not the energy itself. On the other hand, the treatment of the relation between wages and prices should clarify much of the existing confusion on the points involved.

Competition and Monopoly are well introduced in Chapter 6.

In Chapter 7 the author's explanation of absolute ground rent, as resulting from an excess of price over price of production, appears to the writer to be inconsistent with the labour theory of value. For if money is the monetary expression of labour there would appear to be no source from which the extra price could come if capitalists in general receive an average rate of profit. This error appears to be due to the author assuming in his example (p. 61) that agricultural and industrial compositions of capital are the same. If this were true there could be no excess of value (labour) over and above the average rate of profit which he assumes the farmer receives, and therefore there could be no source of absolute rent.

Also in the same chapter, the question of whether or not workers pay taxes does not rest, as stated, upon the impossibility of lowering the standard of life still further, because this most certainly can be done. It depends upon the proportion of taxation handed over by workers which comes back to form part of the workers' standard of life. That which does not form part of this standard obviously cannot be wages; consequently it is profit, and accordingly workers pay this part only by proxy.

In Chapter 8 the difference between normal (within the gold points) and abnormal variations in exchange rates are very readably explained, but the writer thinks it would be an improvement if the purely nominal variations due to inflation were more clearly separated from the former. Again, the limitation of credit operations is not fully traced to its labour source. Even money of account must be traced to the expression of labour in some form

* May be ordered from PLEBS.

if one works from a labour theory of value.

Chapter 9 on modern capitalist tendencies such as Taylorism, industrial psychology, development of waste products, development of big companies, etc., gives the essential idea of concentration and centralisation in a nutshell.

In Chapter 10 we are shown how economics can be a guide to the future.

The most pleasing feature is that the book has been built on a plan which makes each part follow logically and in good sequence.

For those who think that a Plebeian writer never sufficiently stresses the economics of the class war (it is true of some), one quotation may be given :—

(p. 87) "All the confusion caused by speculators, fictitious capital, bonus shares and the like cannot hide the fact that the primary exploitation of the worker in production yields the surplus to be appropriated later by the industrial, commercial and financial capitalists and the landlords."

There is an index and a reading list. The latter is *not* a catalogue of all the books in the author's bookcase.

FRED CASEY.

SHAW

Bernard Shaw Explained. By G. Whitehead (Watts, 2s. 6d.).

The nearer G. B. S. comes to "taking the veil" the harder will the Rationalists hit him. Mr. McCabe has made a very scathing summary of his life, and now Mr. Whitehead "explains" Shaw by exposing the many inconsistencies with which his works are cumbered. This book varies, for the author is not cruel to be kind but cruel and kind in turn; in various places he allows his admiration for his subject to be seen, while elsewhere he chases down with stern relentlessness the many hares of superficial nonsense that Shaw has started.

Mr. Whitehead says G. B. S. "is more a poker than a systematic theorist," and changing his metaphor, he continues: "He sees the fat, double-chinned complacent man leaning back to snore after his seven-course dinner, provided by the dividends won from a devalitized Henry Dubb, and he lights a firework under his coat-tails to awaken him to a sense of realities. He lights more fireworks to illuminate the social darkness; he provides a gorgeous pyrotechnic display that we may see clearly the horrible forms stowed away in the corners of our civilisation. But we clap our hands in appreciation of the brilliant spectacle; or, blinded by the dazzling lights, we see nothing of the crouching forms, while fat complacency merely grumbles uncomprehendingly at the interruption of his slumbers by the irksome irresponsible gamin."

The undoubted truth contained in that picture of the failure of Bernard Shaw should be linked with the fact noted by Lenin that only capitalist society would be so stupid as to "merely guffaw uncomprehendingly" and regard Shaw as a buffoon.

But the author does not attempt to explain Shaw by linking him to the decadence of capitalism. In his desire to defend Darwin and Materialism from Shaw and his Life Force, Mr. Whitehead makes Marxism (or rather his idea of it) the scapegoat. After all, the development of society is a more complex affair than even biological change, and Marx's theories which explained the former have been modified far less by subsequent investigation than Darwin's. Mr. Whitehead banishes the old gods and Shaw's inconsistencies in order to idealise the development of the human mind; and he is as blind to the real significance of Shaw and his vacillations as he is to the position of his own Rationalist group, which belongs—

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intellectually—to the older franker days of capitalism when Cobden, Bright and Morley led, and not the chameleon Churchill, the weathercock Lloyd George, and the empirical Mr. Baldwin, with his Imperialist mysticism.

However, I do not want to undertake here the explanation of Mr. Whitehead, but to commend his Rationalist explanation of Shaw as a useful, readable summary and commentary upon the latter's views.

K.

MORE FIRST-HAND EVIDENCE

Soviet Russia: An Investigation by British Women Trade Unionists (Published by W. P. Coates, 3, Adam Street, Adelphi, W.C. 2. 1s.).

It was a happy idea to supplement the T.U.C. Delegation's Report by this report drawn up by women trade unionists. It dot's the "i's" and crosses the "t's" of the other report, and in addition gives several human touches that one missed in the larger book. Certainly no one who is the least interested, not only in internationalism, but also in discovering just how "All power to the workers" alters the individual life of the worker, should be without a copy.

The compilers, the publishers and everyone concerned are to be congratulated on the price, the get-up, and general appearance of this booklet. It is workmanlike, interesting and above all attractive; and its attractiveness does not interfere with the very solid reading matter and statistics it contains.

Perhaps the most valuable thing in this report is its transparent honesty. Nowhere do the writers pretend that "everything in the garden is lovely"—on the other hand, one gets the impression that out of chaos and hardship, amidst innumerable obstacles, something is being built up on a solid foundation. These women are no stunt journalists handling "good copy" or making "a story"; they are our fellow-workers noting both advantage and disadvantage and that fact adds weight to their final conclusion:—

"Whatever our abstract theoretical views may be of the Soviet system of government, however we may differ from the Bolsheviks in points of detail,

To Speakers, Tutors, and Students

Comrades! How often have you been held up for want of just that one little fact which would clinch your argument?

You Know that capitalist concerns are paying large dividends on watered capital.

You Know that the workers' standard of life is steadily going down.

You Know that international capitalism controls international politics. But when that tiresome fellow at the back of the hall shouts out "Can the speaker give us a single instance . . . ?" well, you just can't lay your hands on one.

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or even in general outlook as regards the position of affairs in our own country, no honest observer of present-day Soviet Russia can doubt for one moment that a great and sincere experiment in working-class government is being carried out in Russia. We consider that this experiment is worthy of the interest, sympathy and assistance of the workers of the world. . . ."

If every trade unionist in England, man and woman, reads and digests this booklet it will take much more than a "Red Letter" to stampede them to reaction.

W. H.

A PIONEER

My Life's Battles. By Will Thorne, M.P. (Newnes, 3s. 6d.).

As the title suggests, this is no documented record but a set of impressions and memories. Thorne in a lieutenant-colonel's uniform, Thorne soothing royal fears of a revolution in Britain, and Thorne being nice to Lady Astor is not the figure Labour will wish to remember. For from Thorne's own experience and actions we here learn much concerning the forces behind the New Unionism of the eighties and the struggle to organise the general workers.

Starting with the gas workers, who could quickly make their power felt, Thorne and his colleagues did valuable service in lifting up the exceedingly

low and horrible standard of life of the unskilled workers. If now we realise that a federation of general workers scattered in many industries can only finance ineffective sectional strikes, that ought not to lessen our admiration for those who, fighting against heavy odds, proved that general workers could be staunch trade unionists. In this self-picture of Thorne—"warts and all" to borrow Cromwell's phrase—we get the strength and weakness of that movement.

Thorne is not one of those who want to tone down the Labour Movement into gradualness. "I would rather lose my life than my consciousness that I am a member of the working-class, and that I have been entrusted with the sacred duty and honour of fighting the class war until there is an equal distribution of the work and wealth of the nation." To that end, he insists on the retention of the right to strike, and ends his book with an appeal to young workers "to agitate, to educate and to organise."

John Burns, Col. J. Ward and P. Snowden are the only ones to receive deserved "backhanders" in the book. The description of the assistance to the "New Unions" given by Eleanor Marx Aveling and Dr. Aveling, and the tragic end of both, the visits of Paul Lafargue to London, and Thorne's acquaintance with Engels and other prominent Socialist leaders, add much to its interest.

M. S.

The NATIONAL COUNCIL of LABOUR COLLEGES

HEAD OFFICE—62 HANOVER STREET, EDINBURGH

Gen. Sec., J. P. M. Millar (to whom all reports should be sent)

TUTORS.—Will all tutors kindly make a point of seeing that students are properly enrolled and that the official register is marked at each class meeting?

New Executive Member.—F. Handsley has been appointed by the A.S.L.E. & F. to the N.C.L.C. Executive

New Appointments.—Stuart Barr, prospective Labour candidate for Tyne-

mouth, has been appointed divisional¹ organiser for Division 6. T. D. Smith, now a lecturer, will assist with the large amount of education work to be done in Division 12. A. H. Paton, of Leith (an ex-Labour College Student) has been appointed lecturer-organiser for North Lancs. Area.

National Schemes.—Every effort should be made to make the National Educational Schemes a success. The

figures are always carefully scrutinised by the Unions concerned. All leaflets issued locally giving particulars of classes should contain the names of the Unions whose members are entitled to attend free.

What the Divisions are doing

Div. 1.—About twenty classes have been arranged in this Division.

Div. 2.—Some thirty classes have been established.

Div. 3.—Forty-one official delegates and the press attended the conference at Peterboro' on 30th August. Credit is due to Comrades Bools (the Secretary), J. Mansfield (A.E.U.) and J. L. George (Workers' Union). High Wycombe got a column and a quarter report of its one day school (August 23rd) into *Bucks Free Press*. Here we have a good demand from N.A.F.T.A. Members. At Peterboro' and Hitchin the A.S.L.E. and F.'s Scheme will give a fillip to our classes in Economic Geography which start on 20th September at 2.45 p.m. and 7 p.m. respectively. At Colchester the Co-operative Education Committee opens its class (Tutor, R. C. Mabbs) to our members in return for which we give publicity and special lectures. Braintree's Esperanto class has kept going throughout the summer; ten out of fifteen doing homework high in quality and in such quantity that the job of marking keeps the teacher out of bed at nights. A class on "The Economics of Agriculture" is being arranged for the winter and the Braintree Branch of the Brass and Metal Mechanics has affiliated. For the first time delegates from the local Colleges met the Divisional E.C.: Comrade Bright reported on Rothesay; reports of past and planned classes were given and there was a beneficial pooling of experiences in our backward area. Grays class under Comrade Hunt gets off the mark on 15th September. Successful schools have been held at

Norwich on 6th and 20th September, at Lynn 13th September. Special visits have been paid to Yarmouth, Lowestoft, Ipswich, Grays, Bedford and Slough to arrange classes.

Div. 4.—A successful week-end school was held at Chepstow with an average of forty-eight students. Another successful week-end school was held at Llanelly with 120 students. A conference was held at Merthyr with fifty-eight delegates representing twenty-six working-class organisations.

Div. 5.—On Saturday, 29th August, a day school was held in Chard, way down in Zumerzet. Organiser Phippen gave two lectures, one on the Chinese Trouble and another on First Fruits of Dawes. This and a previous summer visit have prepared the ground for a successful class in the coming winter. Newton Abbot, too, boasts a day school on September 6th. This division has now an enthusiastic N.C.L.C.er in the House of Commons. Mr. Purcell can be warned that he'll be made use of. The Lydney Labour College has already begun to follow up the victory at the hustings with a victory at the lectern.

Div. 6.—The N.C.L.C. Executive Subcommittee met the Divisional Council and introduced the new organiser, Stuart Barr. Mr. T. D. Smith is to assist in Division 12. The Council wish both every success in their new duties.

Div. 7.—A highly satisfactory week-end school was held at Ilkley, September 12—13th. Wm. Paul, as lecturer and singer, was in magnificent form.

Div. 8.—A new local committee has been formed at Barnoldswick with H. Wilkinson, 42, Federation Street, Barnoldswick, via Colne, as secretary.

South Lancs. Area conference was held September 12th with the following speakers: E. C. Mason (National Union of Sheet Metal Workers), L. Fawcett (A.U.B.T.W.), J. F. Horrabin (Plebs League), George Hicks (A.U.B.T.W.)

Have you got it?

WHAT TO READ: A Guide to Books for Worker-Students

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and A. A. Purcell, M.P. Two hundred delegates were present. The conference was a splendid manifestation of working-class interest in our education.

Blackburn Labour College held a very successful delegate conference, addressed by A. J. Cook, on September 12th. Over 1,000 delegates were present, representing 114 organisations. Great enthusiasm: delegates fees and collection totalling nearly £20. Liverpool and District Labour College is

the winter session; six classes are being arranged. Edinburgh has a record list of classes and is opening up new areas. Glasgow, Stirlingshire and Renfrewshire are also well ahead. Stirlingshire, Ayrshire and Fife, Perth and Dundee Districts are all appointing full-time lecturers. The Glasgow District held a very large conference but were disappointed through the absence of speakers expected.

Div. 10.—Scott Nearing was to have

N.C.L.C. TUTORS' LIBRARY

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Will tutors requiring a loan of books to assist them to prepare their lectures please advise N.C.L.C. Office *immediately* of titles, authors, publishers and prices, and so ensure that the Library will be of definite service? Books costing less than 4s. or 5s. are not as a rule, considered eligible for purchase by the Library.

opening classes in new districts (e.g. Northwick and Runcorn), previously W.E.A. strongholds, ex-W.E.A.'s being the leading spirits. Propaganda meetings in the near future are to be addressed at Bangor (North Wales), Leyland, Read and Darwen. The newly appointed organiser-tutor for North Lancs. Area is A. H. Paton (N.U.R. and Labour College, London). He anticipates the assistance of all enthusiasts in the area.

Div. 9.—Successful week-end schools held at North Shields with C. Braun and S. Rees as lecturers, average attendance of ninety; and at Chester-le-Street with Will Lawther as lecturer. Valuable assistance was rendered by J. Gilliland, the Labour Agent. The average attendance was 275. Classes are being established at many places where we have not previously had classes, such as Bishop Auckland, Bearpark, Willington, Chester-le-Street, Langley Park, Stanley and Crag Head. Conferences have been arranged, amongst them is one at Carlisle.

Div. 10.—*Scotland.*—Aberdeen has engaged D. S. Browett as tutor for

spoken in Edinburgh and Birkenhead, but passport reasons made that impossible. A. Woodburn and R. Holder made excellent substitutes.

Div. 11.—*Ireland.*—On the 28th August A. A. Purcell addressed a mass meeting in the Y.M.C.A. Hall under the joint auspices of the Belfast Trades Council and the N.C.L.C. On Saturday the 29th, with Coun. H. Midgley in the chair, A. A. Purcell addressed an N.C.L.C. conference. Seventy delegates representing sixty organisations attended. A. Ellis dealt with the work of the N.C.L.C. in Belfast. The conference was certainly the best yet held in Belfast on Education. The affiliation of N.U.R. No. 3 Branch on the 2d. per member basis is the "first fruit." The Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers with a membership of over 2,500 and the Belfast General and Municipal Workers have also affiliated on the 2d. per member basis. The organiser lectured on "Theories as to the Place of Trade Unions in Social Organisation" at the week-end school of the Irish Trades Union Congress. The I.T.U. Congress has decided in

favour of an adult educational scheme and I.W.C.E.ers in the North are hopeful that an Educational "Border" will not be established.

Div. 12.—Another successful day school was held at Northampton on Sunday 30th August, the organiser lecturing on "The Trouble in the Far East." Northampton is satisfied that week-end schools are a fine means of keeping contact with class students during summer months, and also for attracting new students. Thanks to the enthusiasm of Comrade Drage, a successful conference was held at Wellingborough on 22nd August. The outcome of the conference was the immediate formation of a class which commences on Sunday 20th September. Jack Hamilton was the lecturer at a day school held at Mansfield on 13th September. In the afternoon he lectured on "The Housing Muddle," convincing most of his hearers that there can be no real solution of the Housing Problem inside capitalist society. In the evening he gave his lantern lecture on "Builders and Building." This was the first day school held in Mansfield and Rose Smith—the hard working secretary of the Mansfield College was delighted. The Mansfield Area is now looking forward to the conference on 3rd

October and the day school on Sunday 4th October at which A. J. Cook, the Miners' Secretary is the speaker.

N.C.L.C. Directory.—Additions and Corrections.

Div. 1.—Ilford District, Sec.: Mr. A. J. H. Okey, 18, Raymond Road, Ley Street, Ilford, Essex.

Div. 5.—Corsham C.G., Sec.: Mr. H. J. Fletcher, 6, Paul Street, Corsham, Wilts.

Div. 8.—Great Harwood, Sec.: Mr. S. Mulligan, 30, Clayton Street, Great Harwood.

" Wigan District, Sec.: Mr. W. Postlethwaite, 14, Frecklenton Street, Wigan.

" Barnoldswick Local Committee, Sec.: Mr. H. Wilkinson, 42, Federation Street, Barnoldswick, via Colne.

Div. 9.—Ashington C.G., Sec.: Mr. F. Millican, 28, Ninth Row, Ashington.

Div. 10.—Scotland—National Organiser: Mr. Sydney Walker, 114, Dunchatten Street, Denistoun, Glasgow.

Div. 11.—Ireland.—Divisional Organiser: Mr. A. Ellis, 59, Ottawa Street, Belfast, Ireland.

What PLEBS LEAGUERS are doing

We hope to keep League groups and members in touch with one another and with head office by means of short reports on this page each month. Comrades are asked to practise condensing their reports as much as possible. Remember "Brevity is the soul of wit."

ELSEWHERE is an account of the Annual Meet. We only wish to make one comment, and that is to express our thanks to all the Manchester comrades for their warm welcome and the work they put in towards making the week-end such a success. Robert Moores deserves special gratitude, as the organisation was mainly in his capable hands.

Thornaby

We give the following letter in full, as it so well indicates the possibilities

of Plebs Groups working as discussion-circles among Left Wingers:—

For many months past there has been a desire on the part of a few of us to meet together to discuss industrial and political problems. At the same time a few others connected with the Labour Party, having become more or less fed-up with the inactivities of the "Right Wingers," have expressed a desire to meet together as definite "Left Wingers." Our difficulty was not the question of meeting together or even the obtaining of a room wherein we could meet, but rather a question of a definite and declared object and aim. This we eventually overcame, and some weeks ago we held our first meeting and decided to form a Plebs Group pledging ourselves to the aims and objects which all Plebeians

stand for. We commenced with about twenty members and to-day we have a group with a membership of sixty, each and every one of them class-conscious, and pledged to take their part in the class struggle which becomes more intensified as the days pass by. Let me hasten to add that the group includes several women members.

The enthusiasm displayed, the interest with which the members look forward to each succeeding Friday evening, the degree of intelligence shown at meetings, the ability with which the members take up the cudgels on behalf of their respective points in the discussions does one good.

Questions relating to Russia, International questions, the economic consequences of Churchill's Budget, the Miners' problems, have all been discussed, and the next item will be "The Foundations of Socialism." Later, we are going to have lectures on "History of Socialism" based on Max Beer's book.

Already many of our friends on the "Right" are asking themselves what is this "Plebs Group? What do they stand for?" To which questions we reply, "A group of men and women out to educate themselves, to obtain a correct understanding of the class struggle, and to fit ourselves for the time when we shall be called upon to take our rightful place in society."

I could not conclude this brief report without recording the valuable services of Comrade Davison, our secretary, who has worked so hard to make the group a success. He is now working hard to get funds to purchase books and Plebs Badges for our members, many of whom are unemployed.

FRANK LEWIS,
(President).

Bolton

Mrs. Cain (Secretary), Top o'th' Moor Farm, Bolton, will be glad to hear of sympathisers and comrades in the district who wish to link up with the group. Plebs circulation booming in this place, thanks to Mrs. Cain and local comrades. One dozen Mags. sufficed till they came on the scene; then they asked for seven dozen. Well done.

Push this Pamphlet

THE BANKS & THE WORKERS

By Arthur Woodburn

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An admirable introductory "textbook-in-little" for Economics Classes.

Tottenham

An active group has been formed here and A. Pichowski, 118, Roseberry Avenue, N. 17, is the secretary. London needs organising from a Plebs point of view and these groups should do much to assist not only the sales of the Mag. but also the classes.

Blaina

Dan Minton, Gladstone House, Brynteg Road, will be glad to have local Plebeians join the Blaina group.

Also Head Office will be glad to have reports of any groups that are forming or re-organising. So many comrades are doing work in their locality which is never mentioned in the Magazine and which, if it were mentioned, might mean that other comrades would rally to help and support.

Congratulations to an Old Friend

Many old Plebs will be glad to hear that comrade J. V. Wills, the first treasurer of the C.L.C., and one of the pioneers of our movement, has just been appointed—out of 180 applicants—to the General Secretaryship of the Union of Corporation Workers. Comrade Wills has been for 16 years a member of the Bermondsey Borough Council and is this year Mayor of the borough. Hearty congratulations, in which we are sure many old friends will join.

W. H.

Are you canvassing for our new Textbook?

THE PLEBS

is the organ of the Plebs League, whose general aim is—"To develop and increase the class-consciousness of the workers, by propaganda and education, in order to aid them to destroy wage-slavery and to win power."

¶The League supports the National Council of Labour Colleges, and it exists to carry on propaganda among Trade Unions and other workers' organisations for the adoption of new schemes of

INDEPENDENT WORKING- CLASS EDUCATION

or the extension of existing schemes.

¶The Plebs League is the link between tutors, organisers, class-students, and every worker in, or supporter of, the I.W.C.E. movement.

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ENERGY is good; energy needs direction; but, much more than that, energy needs the *right* direction.

Labour is gaining power; but power is wasted, because some Workers, who oppose the Governing Class industrially and politically, make the *fundamental mistake of co-operating with them educationally*.

Before deciding that any Educational Body is to be entrusted with Trade Union education, ask whether it receives heavy subsidies from the Capitalist State.

Consistent Trade Unionists demand *Independent Working-Class Education* (which arose out of a strike of students at Ruskin College against its University type of teaching). This Independent Education is provided by

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF LABOUR COLLEGES

The N.C.L.C. operates the bulk of British Trade Union Educational Schemes, and provides Evening Classes, Week-end and Summer Schools, Residential Tuition, Correspondence Courses, etc. It has more Trade Union Correspondence Students than any other Working-class Educational Organisation in the World.

Send threepence in stamps for 24-page Booklet on "The N.C.L.C. and Its Work," to J. P. M. Millar, General Secretary, N.C.L.C., 62, Hanover St., Edinburgh.